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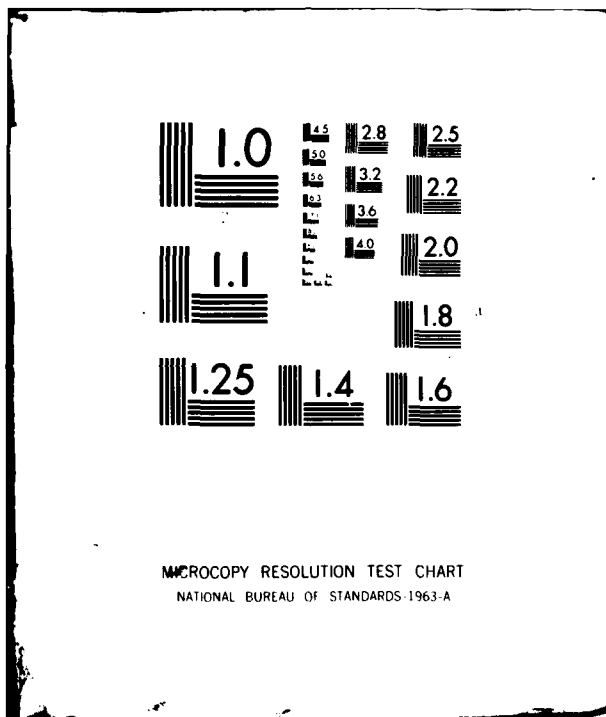
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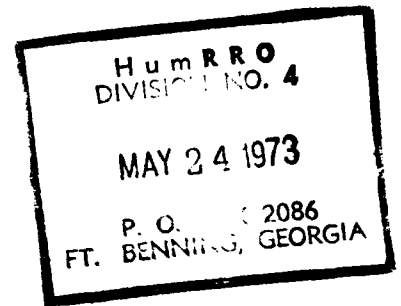


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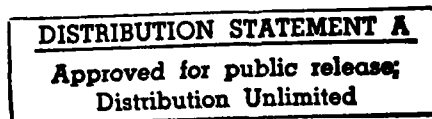
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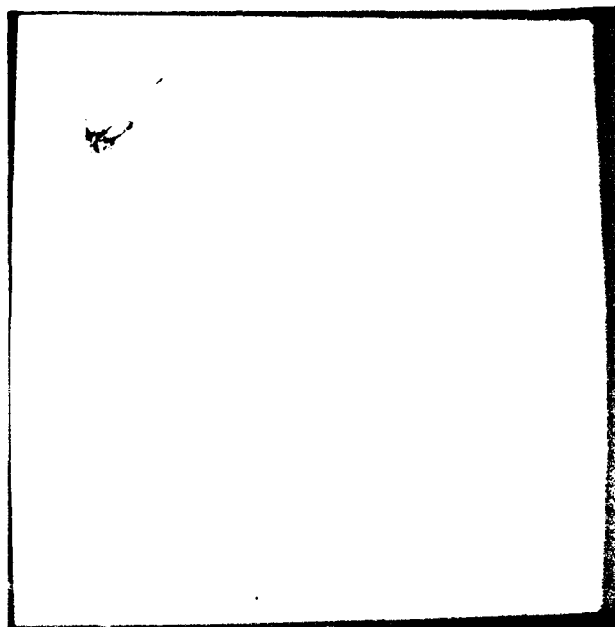


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⑥ ORGANIZATIONAL PERSPECTIVES
WROUGHT BY CURRENT SOCIAL CHANGE.

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report concerns
This ~~chapter is about~~ how social, economic and technological changes will continue to affect the nature and meaning of work in our society. Already, automation has arisen as a consequence of our persistent drives for more efficient ways of doing work and our expanding technological capabilities. Its emergence has, in time, changed the complexion of the labor force. Fewer workers are involved in processing and production of goods and more are involved in service occupations. For example, proportions of assembly line workers and miners show continuing declines coupled with steady increases in physicians' assistants and teachers in the health professions.

Many other trends, now underway, will have pronounced effects on the world of work. The most important of these trends include:

population growth,
continuing technological change,
a revolution of rising expectations,
continuation of the so-called generation gap,
changing popular culture, and
death and/or decline of traditional institutions.

Each of these trends and their implications for changes in the nature, meaning and institutions of the world of work are discussed on the pages that follow.

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POPULATION GROWTH AND CHANGE IN ITS COMPOSITION

The world's population has grown exponentially in the last 30 years and looks as if it will continue to do so in the next 30 years. By the year 2000 it is expected that there will be more than three and one-half times as many people living on the earth than there were in 1930 and far more of them will be living in urban centers where more work will be available. Generally, this burgeoning population touches urban planners and food suppliers who are concerned with providing decent living conditions for these added millions.

An unfortunate feature of this population growth is that it will be unevenly distributed. Industrialized societies are more likely to feel the slowing effects of improvements in contraception, liberalized, non-procreation oriented intercourse and increased availability of abortions. This is unfortunate because in developing countries contraception and abortion are not as acceptable as concepts or prevalent as practices while these same countries have less technical capacities in urban planning and agriculture.

In the United States, along with this general growth in population will be corresponding increases in the number of people in the work force, and the increasing size of the work force will be accompanied by further changes in its composition. If present trends continue, there are likely to be more old people available for work because of generally longer life expectancies. Moreover, more young people, more women, more highly educated and thus more professionals, technicians, managers, officials, and proprietors are likely to be in the work force of the 1970's and 1980's (Boneau, 1968). For instance, a special issue of Fortune in January of 1969 indicated that in 1960 in the United States there were approximately

10.5 million people in the ages of 18 to 24 in the work force, while in 1975, it is estimated that 18 million such people will be in the labor force. Thus, in a span of 15 years, the number of such people in the work force will almost double. This is an even more outstanding growth given the fact that increasing numbers of such people are entering college and graduate school and thus not really considered part of the work force. Besides the young, the work force of the 1970's and 1980's is likely to be characterized by more and more white collar workers; at least if the trends for the period 1947-1962 persist. There is good evidence that they will persist. The annual rate of growth of such workers stood at 1,200,000 in the year 1967 compared to an annual rate of new blue collar jobs of 300,000 (Hartman, 1969).

A number of consequences to the future world of work of these population changes are apparent. People may look forward to a longer working life. As Drucker's "Age of Discontinuity" has pointed out, many will be able to be retrained for second careers as they tire of or become obsolescent in their first ones. This occurs already in such professions as the military where retirements at ages 45-50 are frequently the signal for beginning of second professions only remotely related to the first.

At the same time, increases in the young end of the spectrum are even now pressing management to be better prepared to deal with a younger, better educated work force. And as we will see later in our discussion of the ubiquitous "Generation Gap," this young component is entering working age with more personalistic values and a militant, less patient posture regarding the fulfillment of those values.

An irony of this problematic population growth is that it may well be unseen as an urgent crisis by corporate chiefs. On the one hand population growth will enforce existing organizations to rapidly expand

to provide new job opportunities or large numbers of newer organizations will be required. But expansion and change are likely to be seen as small costs in an expanding market place where disposable income is likely to be on the increase. The need for expanded capacity seems a small cost because as our industrial revolution has told us so forcefully in the past, our ingenuity and drive is such that we can master environments, whether they be wheat fields to harvest or moons to land on. And the costs seem smaller still as applied science provides us with accelerated knowledge and technology.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL IMPERATIVE

The growth of scientific knowledge continues on an exponential curve. We are likely to learn more in the next 30 years than we did in the past 100. This upgraded pace alone will continue to make its mark on us. Let's first consider the dimensions of this rapidness and then see how it has come about and what its effects will be during the next 30 years on the nature of work and organizations.

The Knowledge Explosion

One of the most direct consequences of the scientific revolution has been an explosion in the amount of knowledge that is available and our capacities to produce it, even if our efforts at organizing this knowledge industry are just beginning. Scientists rely more than ever on computer facilities in their research but disseminating their findings still is slowed by bottlenecks in overcrowded professional journals. Growth continues in the number of specialists who become experts in a restricted knowledge area including knowledge specialists like systems analysts, computer programmers and microfilm technicians.

Increasingly, industrial firms are likely to be transformed into fully automated knowledge and energy distribution systems with computer monitoring and information processing as their distinctive work, the knowledge worker as a typical employee, and the university as the engine of progress and innovation (Drucker, 1969). With the increasing use of electronic data processing for information processing, decision making and automating, there will be a growth in knowledge capital (Simon, 1964). What this means is that people both in and out of industry will know more, more quickly, and as a result, they will be able to put their knowledge to more uses more quickly.

Because premium skills are required and the male half of the population cannot supply enough trained knowledge workers to keep up with the demand, increasingly, women are likely to "invade" these traditionally male occupations just as they have other office professions that, in an earlier day, were also the exclusive domain of men. The number of women in managerial positions may increase. The battle to integrate the sexes at work with complete equality of opportunity may be fought out here in the field of information processing.

The Change of Pace

The growth of scientific knowledge and the speed of technological innovation now achieves such self-determined momentum as to make ours the "accidental century" and a "temporary society" (Kristol, 1968). Technological innovation and the diffusion of technological innovation today proceeds at a pace significantly faster than in the past. It seems likely that this pace will continue or become even more rapid in the near future. As an example of this change, today's 40-year old American has witnessed nearly a two-fold increase in real gross national

product since he was born, discounting the effects of the 150 per cent decline in the value of the dollar. The role of the government in the economy has shifted from 5.9 per cent of GNP in 1931 to 22.9 per cent of GNP in 1969. Moreover, all of this increase in earnings, productivity and government spending has been accompanied by a far smaller increase (36 per cent) in the total work force (Haas, 1969).

This rapid pace of change is perhaps the most central symptom of contemporary society and will likely continue to be a central feature of society in the next two decades. As technological innovation becomes more feasible, the pace of change increases, and as a consequence, the expectations that people have about change are likely to increase as well. Many people today expect to have rapid change as part of their lives in the future because they have seen so much change in their lives in the past. Our awareness of change is further enhanced by mass media which tell so vividly about new innovations such as the supersonic transport and heart transplants. People, in being ever more aware of the temporary nature of things feel their own temporariness more acutely. With confusion about today and more about tomorrow, they turn more urgently to today and its possibilities.

With change accepted as a norm, tradition becomes questionable as a value, fads become a symptom of times, and the gap between one generation and another becomes "apparently" more vivid (Kristol, 1968). With rapid change also comes widening choices and with widening choice comes insecurity for people in the answers they look for to questions they have about their relationship to the world. Traditional answers may still be good answers but they will be questioned more in a time of rapid change than before.

Causes for the change of pace: The science revolution and the information explosion. A tremendous growth of scientific and technical knowledge and of associated rapid information processing has occurred. In 1960, there were an estimated two million scientists, engineers and technicians in the United States. In the decade since 1960, ending in 1970, it is estimated that there were four million scientists, engineers, technicians (Staats, 1968). With similar increases expected in the 1970's and 1980's, the most likely product is an increasing number of new inventions that will lead to an even wider number of new products and services. This will be true for business, government, and educational organizations.

Some of the likely technological innovations of the next 30 years include the increased use of laser and maser beams for sensing, measuring, communicating, cutting, heating and welding. New sources of power for ground transportation will make mass and rapid transit more feasible economically. Mechanical aids or substitutes for human organs, senses and limbs will become widely available.

Techniques for controlled and effective relaxation in sleep will appear. New and more reliable educational techniques for assisting public and private learning; permanent manned satellites for inter-planetary travel; permanent manned underseas stations; memory and learning pills; pills to control senility and mental illness; home and pocket computers for communications in home management all seem likely by the end of the century (Kahn, 1967).

In addition to these new products of science, the structures of science will have to change. As our capabilities for producing knowledge increase so must our efforts at organizing a knowledge industry which can

systematically produce and distribute it. More contracts, more grants, more research institutes, and more foundations supporting research may be expected. All of these are likely developments if the trend toward an increasing number of people engaged in science and scientific activities continues. Slow ups in the rate of technological innovation may occur but will most likely be due to temporary scarcities of money such as experienced in the beginning year of the Nixon Administration in 1969. This shortage resulted because of rising costs of overseas conflicts and a tightening of money due to inflation.

The current physical and social environmental scene in the U.S. and other societies suggests the technological thrusts likely in the next 30 years which will receive heavy financial support. Science and technology will be pushed toward solving the problems of air and water pollution, mass and rapid transit, housing, high protein foods at low cost, improved educational procedures, crime and law enforcement and more social and educational innovations such as planned communities and neighborhood control of schools.

The effects of the change of pace on working man. It becomes increasingly impractical for a student to prepare for a specific lifetime occupation. Changes come so rapidly that it is much more sensible for preparation to be more general. Emphasis should be on "learning-how-to-learn," and how to avoid obsolescence whatever one's occupational specialty. Preparation should be for broad fields of endeavor. Yet this creates a fundamental conflict with the increasing specialization of work. Workers need to have both a specialty as well as an opportunity to keep up with more general changes going on in their broader field of endeavor so that when sudden changes in need occur for the specialty, the worker can easily learn a new one in his major field of interest. The auto carburetor specialist

of today has to be ready to become the auto electric-stream turbine expert for tomorrow. To accommodate to such environmental change, many work organizations will continue the current trend now found in the advanced technology industries. They will become increasingly flexible, built around temporary task project teams rather than fixed departments. In such departments more time will be spent in long range planning (a necessity given the costliness of errors in EDP assisted planning activities) and more people will be engaged in creating and testing new ideas and developing strategies for routinizing innovation as new products become the rule and old products the exception.

As a consequence of this science and information revolution, more managers will find themselves managing scientists, engineers, and technical specialists. More managers will need to be open to technical learning and understanding, in order to be able to supervise specialists in domains outside their own area of expertise. More decision-making is likely to rely on experts and expert teams as no one manager will have all the necessary information for a decision in his own head.

At the same time, opportunities for semi-skilled jobs as technical assistants will continue to grow in numbers and importance. The health professions, where the demand for service is likely to continue to outrun the numbers of professionals in training, are most illustrative. One professional dentist and a staff of dental mechanics, hygienists and technicians can care for an impressively larger number of patients than could one dentist by himself.

Organizational Responses to the Change of Pace

Organizations are likely to seek ways to reduce the uncertainties

associated with change. Three possibilities exist (Thompson, 1968).

First, organizations increasingly may seek buffers against change. That is, they will create units to absorb the wide swings occurring in the external environment so that the inner organizational core maintains smoother operations. Separate departments for new ventures that constantly seek to keep up with developments in technology and the marketplace are likely to become a common feature of most large firms.

Second, although often business firms are interested in promoting change in the marketplace to stimulate purchase of new products to replace old ones, organizations try to 'negotiate' with the changing environment to control, prevent or modify the change or move it in a desired direction. Owners of movie theaters campaign to arouse the public against pay T.V.; rifle manufacturers lobby against gun licensing and auto manufacturers fight against safety legislation.

Third, organizations may bring inside themselves the sources of uncertainty and change of the external environment. The shortage of trained automobile mechanics continues to grow so the manufacturer sets up special schools of its own to develop the supply; the Tennessee Valley Authority cannot keep up with its increasing demand for electric power from its flood-controlling dams so it begins building steam plants to generate power; the American firm fears nationalization of its foreign holdings so it brings into its management large numbers of foreign nationals to develop its identity as an international firm. In a given foreign country, it joins forces with local government and business to establish mutual interest in the well-being of the enterprise.

Finally, more professionals and management personnel will work at

the interface between industry and government, industry and public service as government and the public interest become increasingly important in the total economy. There will be an increasing blurring of the private and public sectors of the economy and the increased transfer of personnel from one to the other sector.

Depersonalization

With the emergence of technology in the past century, the products we use, the houses we live in increasingly become mass-produced rather than produced by craftsman. More of our surroundings diminish in their personal qualities. People involved in highly automated society are concerned about and afraid about depersonalization (Lipstreu, 1966; Gilman, 1966) even though some experts tell them that the fear of automation itself (automated data processing equipment or the computer) is a fear that is not founded in fact, and will soon dissipate (Drucker, 1969; Kerr, 1967). Whether we fear it or not, however, the point remains profoundly clear that automation is the seed of enormous changes in our style of life. Obvious symptoms of these changes, the technological advances and knowledge of explosion sit side by side with an ever encreasing sameness. Instant housing, automated travel service including ticketing and itinerary planning, automated medical diagnosis, mass media, will be steady reminders of the "one-of-many" relationship of individuals to their worlds. Mass production and sameness will still seem to be a norm for tomorrow's products and in such a world, the men who will live in it seem likely to be concerned about the crowding and conformity of people that may go along with it. (Fromm, 1961; Gist & Fava, 1961).

One "side effect" of this increasing depersonalization is likely to be a broadening band of loneliness sweeping the industrialized societies. Crowding does not produce intimacy. Its effects usually lead to enhanced irritability. In the midst of all of the crowding and sameness as well as the rush to be rational and productive, suicide rates are likely to increase as a consequence, as well as new quasi-religious forms which will allow men an opportunity to experience spiritually and non-rationally and to become close to others. Already we see this "return" in unstructured meetings and the T-Group phenomenon, group socializing and communal living. Each of these counteractive moves against depersonalization will call for professional and semi-professional social and psychiatric workers skilled in group work with a main objective seen as that of combatting alienation.

Beyond these obvious concerns are still others that automation will continue to produce. EDP probably represents a symbolic high point in the values represented by our protestant ethic. It is rational, it achieves, it does not complain and can be made errorless. A world colored by these values created EDP and is orienting itself further toward these same values because of the success of EDP. Increasingly, automation will have to be looked at as a potentially depersonalizing force that will conflict with an individual (worker's or other's) desire for self-actualization and autonomy. Machine pacing, mass production, and the increased size of automating enterprises will all be potential sources of conflict with the individual's search for identity through work. The concern to many like Harvey Cox, a psychology oriented theologian is that the non-rational components of man's nature are jeopardized in such a world

because society's institutions have little time for these non-rational demands and place little value on them. Thus, to be festive, to revel in awe, to celebrate is fine only in spare time or to "get away from it all", to restore one's energy for the tasks of life. But to emphasize or revere emotionality, and irrationality to look on it unobsessively and without apology will probably brand tomorrow's citizen as tomorrow's hippie or yippie. The irony is that there may be more such minions of mysticism tomorrow, while a large and influential component of our society will continue to react against such non-achieving, non-rational people (Cox, 1970).

THE REVOLUTION OF RISING EXPECTATIONS

Abundance and the consumer society

In the setting of growing and unprecedented material abundance, expectations of individuals about what they can have and ought to have are likely to change. They are likely to expect more as they are able to have more in terms of material goods. Income has multiplied, and such growth in personal income is likely to continue. Its real growth, however, is stunted by mounting inflation, especially in the late 1960's. Still, advertising, the availability of goods, the ease of credit and the opportunities to spend continue to increase and are likely to do so even more in the next two decades. Mass media such as television, magazines, newspapers, and outdoor billboards daily assault our senses with appeals and persuasions to spend our money here or there. Consumer's attitudes have been modified as a consequence. Not only do we buy more today, but feel differently about our buying than we used to. As one author put it, "There is nothing more frustrating than to expect the impossible as a matter of right and yet such expectations by now are second nature to a

large part of humanity" (Kristol, 1968). In this climate of rising expectations, self-seeking and self-indulgence may be harsh terms for today's and tomorrow's consumer. On the other hand, spending for leisure time in 1968 in the United States amounted to \$150 billion (McMeehan, 1969). This estimate also does not include spending for such items as second cars, second radios, or second television sets which the majority of our population already possess.

The point is not only that we are spending more for different items, but that we feel differently about our spending. Yesterday's luxuries become today's necessities. "Spend now; pay later...You owe it to yourself... Your family deserves the best that money can buy...Consolidate your loans... Instant credit..." are all more frequently heard slogans of the times. Much of the cause of this change in attitudes has been attributed to the effects of mass advertising itself. Subtle and pervasive shifts have occurred enhancing the status and sexual value of a broad range of consumer products (Packard, 1955). Again, along with their advertising coverage, the mass media, per se, add to this basic change in our attitudes towards consumption (McLuhan, 1967).

The reduction in our ability to delay gratifications may require compensation plans to recognize achievement earlier and closer to the successful completion of assignments rather than at the end of a fixed period of time. Most of the time the 'now' emphasis is tied to our social and consumer behavior. Obviously organizations have capitalized on increased consumer demand via credit financing, etc. In addition there may be some less obvious effects on those firms' employees. Shorter range career goals may be required, as the patience and perspectives of people shorten to fit the pace of the time. One implication of

this impatience may be that it will become increasingly difficult to develop and maintain the supply of technicians where training requirements are lengthy. Four-year apprenticeships may become harder to fill. Speedier training approaches will be needed. Substitutes for highly trained human skills such as job and training aids will become even more necessary. More training may have to be combined with on-the-job opportunities to earn full salaries while in training. Self-maintaining machinery and equipment, computer diagnosis and repair will become more common.

Changes in Basic Values

Change will be such a norm for what happens in our environment, that it may become an important value in itself rather than an event. That is, people will value change, newness, immediacy, variety, and novelty for their own sakes. "Entitledness" may become still another critical value in the future. The revolution of rising expectations is at its heart a change in the attitudes of people, both as citizens and as consumers. It seems to, reflect an attitude or feeling of "what I want, I have a right to expect (I should have) and what I can't get, I should be helped to get." There is an ironic inconsistency in these attitudes. On the one hand, "what I want, I should have," indicates a feeling of self-control rather than control by any outside source. On the other hand, "if I can't get something I expect and will tolerate the influence of and efforts of an outside agency such as the government to get it for me." I tolerate these efforts, of course, only in the cases where the government does not act as a restraining force, such as those times when the government levies increased taxes.

Inconsistencies in these attitudes are likely to become more clear in the coming decades because: (1) personal income and purchasing power and expectation should increase but, (2) the role of the government in private and corporate life is likely also to increase (Squibb, 1968).

These changes in attitudes of citizens and consumers may be, as McLuhan and Packard and others suggest, a function of the new influences of mass media and advertising. On the other hand, they may be a function of changes in basic values concerning the righteousness of hard work and affluence that are a logical consequence of the technological revolutions that have occurred in the last 100 years. Our society's basic values of democracy, equality, and the individual do not seem to have disappeared. It would seem unwise to question whether or not they are of lesser or more importance today and in the next three decades than they have been in our past. The fact remains, however, that new values have made their appearance which emphasize the importance of progress for the sake of progress, efficiency, world competition, science, and rationality (Mann & Neff, 1961). Indeed these values of progress, efficiency, etc. also seem to be changing in their importance from year to year. In this state of flux it would seem that our society is marked more by willingness, ability and tolerance for changing of values than any one particular set of values. Thus, we have new viewpoints on ethics, morals, education, and sex. We have new perspectives on what used to be basic middle-class values of mobility, competence, and responsibility. Upward mobility, skill in one's trade or profession, a man's responsibility for himself and a family have been basic values in American middle-class society. But the importance of these values too seems to lie in question today

(Michener, 1968). Thus, it is very difficult to describe what values a majority of Americans support today or will support in the next two decades. We are still creatures of a largely Protestant Ethic, but how much so? How much is this changing?

This personal expectation and valuing of change will promote job changing within the factory and office. Just as employees have to be ready to change from one job to another because of changes in the marketplace or in technology, so do employers have to be ready to provide changes in jobs for employees who grow to expect such opportunities for new experiences. Hence, organizations of the future will have to consider multiple careers for employees, promoting some minimum degree of job rotation where it does not exist and other built-in changes of activities such as sabbaticals for its employees to return to school for a year or to take long leaves of absence.

THE GENERATION GAP

To quote just one of the many writers who have discussed the now almost trite phrase, "The generation gap:"

"In every dynamic society, there is always a generation gap for in a changing world the young will always have different habits, viewpoints, and styles from the old. Within the 1960's, the gap has opened to a point where the very fabric of our society threatens to be rent all together". (Kristol, 1968).

The young in any society emerge with an air of questioning. Their period of questioning usually takes place in a context of an established system of values, priorities, and prerogatives. The questions help the established structure to change slowly but surely and improve itself in

time. The problem today and possibly for the coming decades is that the established structure itself is in question. Increasingly, the questions are not, what do I want to do with myself in society as it is, but instead, do I want society as it is. One young man was recently quoted in the New York Times Magazine as saying he was quite fed up with many of the values that had been traditionally accepted in American society. When questioned which values, he responded: "The lot. Work hard. Get along in a corporation. Keep your nose clean and maybe you'll get a home in the suburbs, a key to the executive washroom, and two cars."

The fact that the generation gap is now a crucially different one should be evidenced by the turmoil on our college campuses which began in the mid-1960's. This turmoil is reflected in the growing number of protests by both white and black students. It is also symptomized by the increasing use of hallucinogenic drugs on college campuses and indeed, even in high schools and some elementary schools (Newsweek, April 21, 1969). What these events seem to say is that in addition to preferring to live in a world of their own (as they have always more or less done), an increasing number of younger people in our society are living in an anti-world, one whose existence challenges the legitimacy of the adult world. In the past several centuries, the young have always desired to see a world better than the one they began in--a world that would improve. What is new at this time is the idea that some youth are properly engaging in and, indeed, feel they can properly engage in a serious struggle for power against their elders. That the young feel they can do this is a logical consequence of an age where challenge and change become normative values. And it is probably an enduring consequence that will be manifested

in the 1970's and 1980's. Not that the gap will grow any larger necessarily in the 1970's and 1980's, but that it would become more and more an accepted part of our social fabric.

The gap is greatest between college youth and their elders. Non-college youth seem much less apart in values from their parents according to numerous surveys (Main, 1969). But, it is the college going portion of youth who form the elite, who shape and lead our meritocratic society and whose new ideologies require new reactions by organizations who need such youth as workers and managers.

As a consequence of this novel and widening generation gap, contemporary organizations, earmarked for the most part by their faith in bureaucratic formalism, may have to reconsider the viability of their formalistic ways in the light of the demands and values of youth. "Do your own thing" or a highly personalized life style has already been found to be a prototypic ethos of many young, bright college students in the late 1960's (Bier, 1967). This personalism will require some truly energetic efforts of adaptation in many organizations if they are to attract and keep this highly individualistic but capable labor force. For example, this group may require management to rethink the nature of its entry occupations to design them to maximize their attractiveness to the current generation rather than to their own.

Growing Artistic Freedom

Traditionally, artists and writers have served the role of critic for the nation. To a large extent they have represented a voice that was contemptuous of bourgeois American society, its capitalism, liberalism, materialism, and organized religion. "Tobacco Road," "The Death of a Salesman," "The Grapes of Wrath," are three examples of this largely

critical but quite elite cultural heritage. Though now considered classics of American literature they were read by and known about by fewer people than "Portnoy's Complaint" and "Hair".

In the past, the criticisms, the explorations, and the experimentations of the vast majority of artists and writers were restricted by a sense of propriety about what should and should not be said or written or depicted in a work of art and by less developed mass media through which to exhibit their works. The ethics and values of former decades dictated or implied quite strongly that the artists should recognize certain limitations set by propriety, a sense of dignity, and probably the law. The audiences were smaller with influence through their affluence backing their sanctions. In the past decade, however, a climate of unique changes, intense questioning and great disposable income has led to works that are increasingly daring, some even feel subversive or pornographic. For example, prior to the 1960's, movies such as "Bonnie and Clyde," "The Graduate," or books such as "Portnoy's Complaint" could never have been published and widely distributed. Whether it be the ideas he discusses, the words he uses, or the visual images he creates, the artist in the last decade has been given a unique amount of freedom or license to disseminate as he sees fit. Projecting whether this trend will continue into the coming decades is somewhat difficult. For, with each new step forward, the cries of pornography and artistic anarchy are heard louder and louder. In addition, there remains the serious question of how much further can we go (Newsweek, April 14, 1969). Most likely we will go that much further so that it will become totally unrestricted and legal and thus so dull as to be bad business.

Nevertheless, the freedom being gained by artists seems to reflect

a redevotion to the value of personal freedom, which will affect all whose share the artist's society. A new candor and expressiveness is evidenced in communication, a candor that employees of tomorrow are asking more frequently of their organizations. Such candor and freedom are likely to be seen increasingly, not as privileges of a cultural or managerial elite, but as prerogatives of all who share in the society and its organizations' fate.

Mass Culture

While the artist has been gaining increasing freedom, his audience has been expanding as well. Traditionally, the "culture" of our country, that is its artistic and literary output, has been aimed at a restricted audience, an avant-garde elite if you will. This elite bought the paintings, saw the expensive plays, and read the books that were produced by the nation's artists and writers. Moreover, the appeal of these works was to an educated minority who were often bemused and tolerant of a restricted range of still critical and non-popular ideas. Today, however, the expense of the hard cover book has been subverted by the paper back. The expense of the theatre has been subverted by T.V. The expense of the concert has been subverted by records and tapes. And the expense of paintings has even been subverted by the oil reproduction or other kind of reprint. In addition, personal income has risen so that more is available for leisure time spending. And increasingly, people consider participation in "cultural activities" a part of their leisure time spending.

The trend-makers now more frequently emerge from the masses, not the "establishment." The spearhead of "cultural" advances come from the underprivileged. The anti-establishment sets the pace. What is popular

in art, music and literature is what is accepted as good rather than what is consistent with earlier norms of quality and universality.

In response to this mass culture artists have changed the thrust of their ideas. They take more risks, are more experimental because whatever they try or dare to say they can find some audience. As social critics, they have widened and intensified their criticism. In addition, in a mass-oriented culture, much of the thrust of artistic activity lies outside the domain of social criticism. An expanding definition of culture now includes modes of fashion, inflatable, plastic furniture and, indeed, even comic books as acceptable art forms. What seems to be considered artistic output or fashionable, seems to be changing at an ever-increasing rate. If one looks at paintings, for example, at least to these naive observers, there seems to have been three major movements in the last decade alone. These have included pop art (to many soup can art), op or optical art and kinetic art. Popular songs last days and weeks and then pass on. This is in contrast to trends which typified pre-1900 culture. Thus, the impressionists of an earlier day after being rejected as ludicrous by French neo-classicists became and continued to be a viable force in art for nearly 30 years. The symphonies of Haydn, tone poems of Liszt and the songs of Strauss were with the classes for whom they were written for many generations. This increasing changeability in the arts seems to reflect an increasing desire to experiment in art form and content and an increasing desire for change for its own sake in the larger society. Artists are more willing to experiment and their audiences are more eager for change. And if things do last one can wonder if they are durable objects or events of art or "plastic" creations of a promoter's ingenuity such as the "Golden Oldies" and

"Flash Gordon" revivals in popular records and movies. This, of course may put artists in a somewhat precarious position for the artist who is "in" today may be "out" tomorrow. Indeed, "in" and "out" fad and whimsey both seem to be increasingly symptomatic of our day and age. The hula hoop, Batman, Jean Paul Sartre all obtained a crest of popular subscription in the 1960's and since have subsided in their popularity.

Relevant to the future world of work is the extent popular culture is producing a larger number of people who are quite sophisticated on a broad variety of political, social and ethical issues, and who also value expressiveness, emotionality, originality and freedom from traditional social constraints. Such sophistication has been associated with an increasing tendency in the young particularly to devote themselves to a highly personalistic style of behaving where situations ethics, freedom and expression are paramount and where order and predictability are less valued (Bier, 1967). Further the young are becoming harbingers of culture and bringing their influence to organizations. Thus, indirectly the popular dissemination of the ideas of the "freed" artist may forebode pending difficulties for bureaucratic models of organizing. People in organizations, particularly managers, have reported self actualization and autonomy to be important and least satisfied. In a culture which resonates their private beliefs their desire to get on with the business of self actualizing is likely to become still more urgent. Moreover, human relations oriented models as well may encounter rough sailing since this group-oriented humanism may be irritating to an ethos that enhances individual liberty and expression. And as expressiveness becomes more normative, what will it imply for the worker? Our guess is that he (and she) too is likely to want more and ask for dignity, variability and "meaningfulness" in his

life including his working life. He sees that technology can solve the problems of mass transit and space travel; why can't it relieve the indignities of working conditions as well?

THE DECLINE OF TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The Decline of Formal Religion.

In the past, the traditional institutions such as religion, the family and the educational system have provided a stable base whereby individuals growing up in our society could answer questions as to why they were here and how they were supposed to relate to the society. Religion, for example, as an institution, has traditionally tried to supply answers to the question "why". Today, however, and our guess is increasingly in the future, this question has been changed into "why not". That is, instead of why behave in such and such a way, religious institutions are being asked, why not behave differently or contrarily? These questions are being asked by people both inside and outside the formal confines of the church itself. The Death-of-God theology and situation ethics increasingly are characteristic of the postures of religious thinkers today (Michener, 1968). For some, there are the very crucial questions we have always looked to religion to answer. To others, these new questions are a reflection of increasing skepticism about the value of traditional religious institutions. In either case, they represent a criticism of the traditional stance of religious institutions on a number of ethical and moral questions. They additionally represent new and urgent demands on religious institutions to change their stance or at least to develop positions taking cognizance of social and political issues such as population explosions and civil rights. And questioning of the church is likely to intensify in coming years. Surveys in the late 1960's

strongly point to a marked reduction from the late 1950's in how positively the young, both college and non-college feel about the utility and importance of formalized religion.

The implications to the future world of work are two fold. First, the Protestant Reformation served as a religious-ethical underpinning to the industrial revolution. The works of Calvin emphasized the importance of hard work as a means of salvation and material success as an indication of righteousness. This Protestant ethic escalated earlier religious notions that sanctified work, sobriety and doing one's duty and condemned idleness. These notions provided a code that could be accepted, as is, and that gave followers a sense of order in the world and identity and purpose at work. In an increasingly secular world religion is being asked to focus more on this life than how to achieve the next. In addition material success is not as likely to be seen as an indication of virtuousness. Thus as salvation is replaced by secularism, work will not be a religiously supported virtue.

Second, the church has traditionally provided models of authority and propriety which may well be the major source of legitimizing and defining the centralized authority and conservative manner typical of business organizations. The decline of traditional religion has been met by the emergence of personal responsibility as a new model of authority and situation ethics as a new model of social responsibility. Such models of responsibility and ethics will require organizations to likewise question the source and viability of many of their own assumptions. For example, they may have to reexamine their authority structures and accept the usefulness of employees taking more personal responsibility for their tasks.

The Changing Community.

The percentage of people living in urban communities is growing. It is likely to continue to grow so that at the year 2000, according to one estimate, at least 80 per cent of the population of this country will be living in cities (Squibb, 1968). In addition, the size of these communities will be such that many of the biggest cities will merge. Suburbs will fuse with industrial parks, fusing with used car lots, fusing with other suburbs to form vast sprawling super-cities or megalopolises. Indeed, three such megalopolises seem to be forming already. One on the East Coast includes Boston, Washington, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore and other cities in Connecticut and New Jersey. The second runs from Chicago to Pittsburgh including many northern Indiana and Ohio cities such as Gary, Fort Wayne, Akron, Toledo and Cleveland. The third seems to be forming on the West Coast and begins in the south at San Diego, includes cities such as Los Angeles and Santa Barbara, and soon may eventually end as far north as the Bay area of San Francisco.

In such urban sprawl, the structures within the city have already changed. For one thing, movement from country to city and, indeed, from city to city has become more common. For example, in the recent decades, there has been a massive movement of blacks to the cities of the North from the rural South. They have moved into and enlarged the population of many northern cities. Their entrance into the cities husbanded with their lack of occupational skills and the prevailing prejudicial attitudes of Northern whites already occupying the cities has created vast ghettos as well as a massive flight to the suburbs by the whites. The size of these ghettos and suburbs is growing and is likely to continue to grow in the coming decades.

The effect on the future world of work lies in the issue of where the

work place will be located and how much industry will contribute to the community's well-being. Plant location must increasingly consider people as well as geographic and economic problems. The availability of pools of urban talent, transportation time to work, housing, the black minority, etc. are now issues of consequence in decisions to locate a plant in the suburbs, the central city, the North or South, etc. The Watts riots of the mid-sixties for instance, have been at least partly blamed on the fact that Watts' predominately black and poor citizens are trapped by poor transportation connecting them to places of employment as well as the job-discrimination-induced poverty which prohibits many from owning private automobiles. In addition, organizations may have to reconsider their commitment to community service as a corporate objective. For instance air and water pollution efforts will be more urgently requested of firms in an environment whose ecological imbalances are already becoming issues of wide concern. They may find it either more urgent (via federal law) or fulfilling or expedient that they increase their involvement in the revitalization of cities as a place to live and work for the added millions who will have to or want to inhabit them.

The Changing Family

Just as the traditional meaning of religious institutions seems to come into question, so too does the family (Bauer & Bauer, 1960). The role and composition of the family have been conceived differently in the past than they are today. That its role is changing is testified to by the growing concern about the generation gap. Increasingly, the young are bringing ideas and practices such as those concerning birth control and sexual relations, into the family from sources other than their parents. The composition too of the family is changing. In the 1920's through even

to the late 1940's the family more typically was an extended one including the immediate family and relatives. The members of the family lived in geographic proximity to one another. The roles adopted by various members of the family were prescribed, understood, and accepted. Father was the supporter of the family, mother was the housewife and homemaker. Permissiveness was new in the 1940's, the current, very broad role of women, unheard of. The family was also a focus of social life. The role of the children was distinct. The parents were always present and child-rearing practices were accepted and familiar and homogeneous. People lived in smaller communities than they do today. Their communities were made up of others who were ethnically, and attitudinally, more similar.

The city family as a whole has changed. It is no longer an extended and geographically proximal family. It is now a nuclear family, including only the parents and their immediate off-spring. In addition, the members of the nuclear family are more often geographically separated. The young are being kept in extended adolescence (out of the labor market) by being kept in an educational institution for longer and longer periods of time (Drucker, 1969; Kenniston, 1969). This is being done because higher levels of education are needed in today's labor market and because the average life span has increased so much that people now have 40 or 50 productive years of working life that they can expect. In such a situation, there seems to be less need to rush children into the labor force. Moreover, the children in this increasingly permissive society expect to achieve roles by self-definition, not roles prescribed for them by parents or any other external authority (including organizations for whom they may choose to work). These expectations are reinforced by a growing number of contacts at school and exposure to television and other forms of mass media. They,

like their parents, know more, have more to spend, and thus expect more, including more freedom. Moreover, their surroundings are less familiar and homogeneous than they have been in the past. They meet and learn from more people who they know less and these people come from a greater variety of ethnic occupational and attitudinal backgrounds (Gist & Fava, 1961).

A wider variety of groups are living in a closer, less isolated setting in urban America. As this urbanizing trend continues, the closeness of interfaces between groups is likely also to increase. Accordingly, in such conditions (i.e., knowledge of a great variety of family practices), the anti-traditionalist trend in family structure and roles is also likely to continue to exist in the coming decades (Wolff, 1950).

As far as the future is concerned, one possible effect of the shift from extended to nuclear families is that the firm will take on the character of the extended family as it has in Japan. All who work for the same company and their families develop interlocking friendships and loyalties tied to their company. Particularly, as employees make and break friendships moving from one city to another, but remain in the same company, their ties to others in the same company become increasingly strong compared to attachments with their current neighbors in their present community. In addition, the increasing heterogeneity of the family's community is going to be mirrored in the heterogeneous character of the work force occupying any given organization. Work groups thus may provide a new family but they are likely to be more heterogeneous as well as temporary families, thus they are likely to be less than optimal as sources for defining enduring values of employees, as families used to do.

Changes in Education.

Educational institutions have also seen changes in recent years which are likely to continue in the coming decades. In the elementary and secondary levels, new developments in curricula have become evident. For example, the new math and the teaching of languages have emerged at the elementary school level. In addition, special programs for the gifted and slow students have become more and more common. In higher education, perhaps the most dramatic changes of all are occurring. Increasing numbers of students are populating the liberal arts colleges, universities, and advanced technical schools (Fortune, 1969). Over five million entered college in 1967 with more predicted for subsequent years.

Moreover, these students more commonly represent forces for change in the relationship of educational institutions to the individual student. Young student activists both black and white have emerged from their changing and more fluid families into higher education with an increasing anti-traditionalist spirit. In this spirit, they seem to be more able and willing to question the relevance of higher education (Newsweek, February 10, 1969, pp.53-60). Moreover, the questions the students are asking concern not only the relevance of academic curricula but the students' entire relationship to the university and indeed to the larger society. Their questions include the validity or morality of nuclear testing, the arms race, campus democracy, education quality at the university, and American's role as world policeman. It might be well to add that these questions focus on today's issues and may be outdated by 1975. The process of questioning, rather than the content of the questions, is the important ingredient in the students' new posture.

An ironic contrast of implications seems to be provided for the

future world of work in the coming decades by current changes in education. On the one hand, advancements in enrollment, teaching methods, and curricula are going to provide the world of work with a larger supply of potential job holders who will be better taught in more highly sophisticated, technical specialties. On the other hand, this new talent pool is becoming increasingly activist and individualistic. These latter attributes may present problems in trying to attract, keep, and develop such young people in a framework of authority and rewards that are seen to be of questionable relevance.

The Government.

Government and law represent another socializing force along with family, educational systems, and religion. Questions are increasingly being asked about the relevance of laws presently on the books at either the federal or state level. The most emphatic questions have been asked about civil rights, such that in the past 15 years, a variety of new laws governing the civil liberties of minorities have been passed even if their enforcement still remains in question. In addition, questions are being asked about the right of government or any of its agencies; for example, the police, to invade the privacy of individuals. Thus, criticisms have been raised about electronic eavesdropping and procedures for arrest. Most importantly, there has been documented in the last decade a change not only in the willingness of private citizens to ask for government reform, but a change in the method of asking for the reform as well. In the past, the vote seemed to be sufficient. Presently, however, it seems more common that community action groups, combined with traditional lobbies, exert considerable pressure on their legislators to pass or oppose laws in favor of or against their specific interests. Much of the pressure to end our Vietnam military involvement in the late 1960's came from both traditional

lobby groups like the church and new aggregations of private citizens, especially college youth. On many issues, civil rights, overty and peace, organized protests in the form of peaceful demonstrations, passive resistance, and more violent protests are becoming increasingly commonplace.

Nevertheless, in spite of the growing number of protests and other forms of requests for expanding individual liberty, increasing influence of government on individual life is most likely in the coming decades (Kahn, 1967; Squibb, 1968). The survival of many service agencies and business firms from aerospace to the tobacco industries will depend almost completely on governmental action.

Many predict that the welfare economy that began in the 1930's and regulated capitalism that began earlier in the United States are very likely to continue and expand their meaning and influence in the 1970's and 1980's. In the 1960's it was far more common for the government to regulate prime lending rates, gun control, steel prices and even civil disobedience. Increasingly, government is intervening to protect the consumer, to regulate the speculator, to provide marginal support for all. Business firms of tomorrow will have to pay more attention than they do today to the health and social welfare aspects of what they are doing. They will be more cautious about expansion especially when it causes inflationary pressure. They will pay more attention to recruiting, hiring and firing practices that are now prescribed by federal law. They may even experience guaranteed minimum annual wages and will be supporting more federally sponsored welfare programs, and be participating in more compensatory education programs for the underprivileged and technologically displaced employee.

Government will probably have some influences on all areas of all

types of organizations. Advertising, pricing and recruiting practices have all come under the scrutiny of recent administrations in Washington. T.V. networks have recently been restrained as to how much prime-time programming they can place in affiliated local stations. Cigarette manufacturers have been warned about sex in advertising. It would be short-sighted however to argue that the government's more active involvement is just as a restraining force. Greater aid to small businesses, investment tax credits reduced stock purchase margins and the like are all encouraging forces that just as well make up this more active government posture. Most obvious, today, are major efforts at providing equal employment opportunity. Civil rights legislation has already made many firms more critical of their own recruitment, selection and career development efforts with minority groups. Less obvious influences exist also. For example government pressures on the tobacco industry are encouraging a more diversified product line. In fact government efforts overall have forced many firms to change practices quickly (e.g. handling masses of recalled cars, investments in new anti-pollution equipment). Engaging in these changes has probably contributed to those firms' awareness of the need to be sensitive to conditions requiring change.

Whether it is government, youth or technology many signs point to change as a prominent part of the future. We here may seem to be "copping out" by predicting change without specifying in more detail what will be the likely contents of the world-to-be. To some extent we have been restrained by our own examination of that world leaves us with a feeling of enormous fluidness. Thus not being soothsayers, reason overcomes the seductiveness of speculation and leads us to focus more on the process of the emerging world of the 1970's and beyond, and less on its contents. Nonetheless, that change process itself is already calling on organizations

to be more aware of their own structures and how relevant they are to the changing values and demands which they will have to respond to.

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